

and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

S. 1338. A bill to improve the United States Marshals Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 1339. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to restrict the mail-order sale of body armor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. KERREY, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. BOND, Mr. PRESSLER, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mr. KOHL, Mr. BURNS, and Mr. EXON):

S. 1340. A bill to require the President to appoint a Commission on Concentration in the Livestock Industry; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MCCAIN (for himself and Mr. KYL):

S. 1341. A bill to provide for the transfer of certain lands to the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community and the city of Scottsdale, Arizona, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. AKAKA (for himself, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. INOUE, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Mr. SIMON):

S. 1342. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to make loans to refinance loans made to veterans under the Native American Veterans Direct Loan Program; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 1343. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide that eligible organizations assure out-of-network access; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HEFLIN:

S. 1344. A bill to repeal the requirement relating to specific statutory authorization for increases in judicial salaries, to provide for automatic annual increases for judicial salaries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIMPSON (by request):

S. 1345. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, and various other statutes, to reform eligibility for Department of Veterans Affairs health-care benefits, improve the operation of the Department, and improve the processes and procedures the Department uses to administer various benefit programs for veterans; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. FAIRCLOTH:

S. Res. 185. A resolution to express the sense of the Senate regarding repayment of loans to Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE):

S. Res. 186. A resolution to authorize testimony by Senate employees and representation by Senate Legal Counsel; considered and agreed to.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself, Mr. BENNETT, and Mr. DORGAN):

S. 1335. A bill to provide for the protection of the flag of the United States

and free speech, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THE FLAG PROTECTION AND FREE SPEECH ACT OF 1995

• Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, Senator BENNETT and Senator DORGAN, I am introducing a bill to outlaw the desecration of the American flag.

Flag burning is a despicable act. And we should have zero tolerance for those who deface our flag. Make no mistake about it—I am disgusted by those who desecrate our symbol of freedom, under which so many men and women, including my father, have gone into battle in order to preserve our way of life.

Many patriotic Americans believe that we need a Constitutional amendment to ban flag burning. The Supreme Court has rejected laws which have attempted to ban flag burning, finding such laws to be in conflict with the first amendment's protection of free speech. So, the supporters of the Constitutional amendment argue that the only way to get it done right is to change the Constitution.

Flag burners must be punished for their vile behavior. But the precedent of amending the Bill of Rights is a dangerous one. I fear that if we amend the first amendment this year, soon the fifth amendment's protection of private property rights or the second amendment's protection of the right to bear arms, will be under assault.

So, I have been searching for an alternative which will result in the swift and certain punishment for those who commit the contemptible act of defacing the flag, but leave the first amendment untouched.

This bill achieves those purposes. The deviants who burn the flag do so to provoked or incite patriotic Americans. And, it is well established that fighting words or speech which incites lawlessness is not protected by the first amendment. My bill provides for imprisoning and fining those who damage a flag intending to incite a breach of the peace. It also punishes anyone who steals a flag belonging to the Federal Government or a flag displayed on Federal property.

This bill will get the job done without tampering with the first amendment. There have been well-respected conservative voices who have cautioned against amending the first amendment to ban flag burning, including George Will, Charles Krauthammer, Cal Thomas, Bruce Fein. But perhaps the most compelling words have come from Jim Warner, a patriot and hero who fought in Vietnam and survived more than 5 years of torture and brutality as a prisoner of war:

We don't need to amend the Constitution in order to punish those who burn our flag. They burn the flag because they hate America and they are afraid of freedom. What better way to hurt them than with the subversive idea of freedom? Spread freedom. [When a] flag in Dallas was burned to protest the nomination of Ronald Reagan, . . . he told us how to spread the idea of freedom when he

said that we should turn America into a "city shining on a hill, a light to all nations." Don't be afraid of freedom, it is the best weapon we have.

I hope my colleagues will study this bill and consider it, as we approach the significant debate on a Constitutional amendment to ban flag desecration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1335

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Flag Protection and Free Speech Act of 1995".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Flag of the United States is a unique symbol of national unity and represents the values of liberty, justice, and equality that make this Nation an example of freedom unmatched throughout the world;

(2) the Bill of Rights is a guarantee of those freedoms and should not be amended in a manner that could be interpreted to restrict freedom, a course that is regularly resorted to by authoritarian governments which fear freedom and not by free and democratic nations;

(3) abuse of the flag of the United States causes more than pain and distress to the overwhelming majority of the American people and may amount to fighting words or a direct threat to the physical and emotional well-being of individuals at whom the threat is targeted; and

(4) destruction of the flag of the United States can be intended to incite a violent response rather than make a political statement and such conduct is outside the protections afforded by the first amendment to the United States Constitution.

(b) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this Act to provide the maximum protection against the use of the flag of the United States to promote violence while respecting the liberties that it symbolizes.

SEC. 3. PROTECTION OF THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST USE FOR PROMOTING VIOLENCE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 700 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 700. Incitement; damage or destruction of property involving the flag of the United States

"(a) ACTIONS PROMOTING VIOLENCE.—Any person who destroys or damages a flag of the United States with the primary purpose and intent to incite or produce imminent violence or a breach of the peace, and in circumstances where the person knows it is reasonably likely to produce imminent violence or a breach of the peace, shall be fined not more than \$100,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

"(b) DAMAGING A FLAG BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES.—Any person who steals or knowingly converts to his or her use, or to the use of another, a flag of the United States belonging to the United States and intentionally destroys or damages that flag shall be fined not more than \$250,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both.

"(c) DAMAGING A FLAG OF ANOTHER ON FEDERAL LAND.—Any person who, within any lands reserved for the use of the United States, or under the exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction of the United States, steals or